



Julia Salazar laughs on Glenn Beck's BlazeTV show in response to a question about an Occupy Wall Street class at Columbia University in January 2012

Julia Salazar with Max Blumenthal, Anya Parampil, and Rania Khalek in December 2015, with Khalek and Blumenthal stout critics of the Zionist state and "progressive"

Image on the left comes <u>from the Internet Archive</u>, while the one on the right comes <u>from archive.is</u>, which archives a Facebook image.

## "One thing today, another tomorrow": the Julia Salazar story [15-page version]

## **By Leftist Critic**

This is the version I submitted to an editor of Dissident Voice on September 22nd. Certain paragraphs were further contracted and edited in the <u>final version of the article</u> which was published on Dissident Voice and reposted on my personal WordPress. I have double-spaced this version of the article to make it easier to read, leading to an article which is 15-pages in length, and the notes section has been changed to footnotes. Otherwise, no other changes were made.

In this part of the article series, Part 2, I build upon what I talked about in Part 1, when I analyzed the candidacy of of Julia Salazar, called Salazar in this article, a "socialist" running on the "Democrat line" meant. In this article I focus on her life, not by telling it in minute detail but briefly looking at her background and pointing out inconsistencies. As Josh Varlin of the Trotskyist WSWS (World Socialist WebSite) even remarked very recently, "Salazar's misrepresentation of her past is, however, politically significant" because her "Salazar's political evolution is far from run-of-the-mill" since she was "extremely active in right-wing politics until just before her entry into pseudo-left politics." Salazar can be, as the editor of *Dissident Voice* suggested to me in the editing process of this article: "one thing today, another tomorrow."

On April 18, Salazar, began her campaign for the New York State Senate, specifically for District 18 in North Brooklyn, announcing it at Bushwick's Maria Hernandez Park, and recently won the Democratic primary by a large margin, beating Martin Dilan, who was funded by the real estate body to the hilt. With this, she is virtually guaranteed a win in November because there is no Republican or independent running against her. She defines herself on one of her twitter handles as a member of the New York City Democratic "Socialists" of America (DSA) chapter and UAW (their National Writers Union), with some supporters calling her a "community organizer." Since then, some have raised questions about her identity and her "personal narrative," as she is presented it in her campaign even though she has strongly declared she was not campaigning on identity.¹ She is like other millennials who fibbed parts of her past as Eve Fairbanks wrote in a recent BuzzFeed article.

The questions about Salazar begin with her origins. It is clear that she was <u>was born in Miami</u> in December 1990, evidenced by the fact that her parents had paid for <u>a second mortgage</u> three years earlier. It is also clear that she grew up in a family which was politically conservative, with a Colombian-born father, Luis, a <u>cargo pilot</u>, and her New Jersey-born mother of Italian descent,

<sup>1</sup> If you would like the links to the tweets I am referring to, please email me.

Christine, a flight attendant. However, she could not get her story straight about her family: sometimes she called them secular, while other times she called them Catholic or partially Jewish. However, it seems evident that at least part of her family was Catholic as she had admitted to a DSA podcast that she was baptized Catholic, growing up in South Florida.

The first part of her origin story is that she was a "proud" Columbia immigrant, as her campaign website and her Our Revolution bio once called described her. This part of her story quickly fell away, as she fell back to the claim that she was a "proud daughter of an immigrant father" or "a Colombian-American from an immigrant family." But this is definitely stretching the reality, as her father was a U\$ citizen before she was born, putting into question that she immigrated to the U\$ with her family "when she was very little," and that her family moved to the U\$ when she was a baby. She already had admitted to the *New York Times* the deception behind calling herself an immigrant, saying: "I'm not an immigrant myself. Rather, I have always felt a deep connection to my father's immigrant experience because of the time I spent without family in Colombia at such a young age. We were back and forth, literally, constantly. My earliest memories are of Colombia." Salazar's mother, born in 1957, does recall varied visits to Colombia, even saying that "the Colombian culture was a huge part of our family" while her slightly older brother, Alex, who is currently a mango farmer in Florida, confirmed "a pair of trips to Colombia" during "their childhood for short visits," but said that "we weren't an immigrant family. It was never something even considered." With her father being Colombian-born, this would mean that she would be effectively half-Colombian, but considering that her mother was White, this proves false her assertion in 2017, before she became a candidate, that "my own immediate family are people of color who immigrated to the U.S. from Colombia, and most of my family still lives there." This is even the case as she has said that she looks "practically identical" to her father and

<sup>2</sup> She explained this change to Stephen Miller of *Fox News* by saying that she does not "personally manage" her campaign website, blaming a staffer and lack of coordination on her "first-time team," admitting to being "unknowingly unclear on this," adding that her busy campaign was also to blame. How can you expect a well-organized and coordinated campaign if you are blaming your staff?

less like my white mother, but is sometimes "white-passing or perceived of as white by some." While she may be right that "immigrant stories are rarely straightforward or unidirectional" and that she has "family in both countries, and I feel a part of both," while she may be "referring to going there more than we went anywhere else" and she "embraced the Colombian culture," according to her mother, this doesn't account for her inconsistencies and distortions. As such, her claims that "never misrepresented my history, and attempts to construct a narrative where I was dishonest about my birthplace to reporters…are malicious and false" are faulty. This is not totally unprecedented: those who are second-generation (children of an immigrant or immigrants), see themselves as attached to the culture of their parent (or parents) birthplace, even if though aren't born there.

Connected to her claimed immigrant identity was her claim that she was working-class. She had said that her mother "really struggled to support me and my brother financially" as a single mother" and that both of her parents "came from a working class background." It is clear that she was largely raised by her mother, supporting her contention on that count. However, her brother, Alex, has said that their family was "middle class, or upper middle class" when living in Jupiter, a "small beach town" north of West Palm Beach, which Salazar has countered by saying that Alex's memory on this subject was faulty. In contrast, Salazar's mother said that while she and her children lived in a nice house, she sometimes financially struggled, especially after divorcing with her husband (when Salazar was six years old in 1996), Luis, saying: "if I could make it look easy for my kids, I did. I thought that economic hardship was not a burden that kids that were going through a divorce needed to experience." Beyond this, is clear that Christine raised both Salazar and Alex, getting only a portion of her husband's money "through <u>alimony and child support</u>," growing up in a large house but at times "had to push hard to make ends meet." Without even using the <u>story</u> in the *Daily Mail*, a horrid right-wing tabloid, which also seems to raise questions about her claims of a working-class background but just depends on her brother as a source, there are some indications that she is fibbing her story. She admit that at

times her parents collectively earned \$100,000 in a year, although she has said this wasn't always the case, with her brother saying, rightly, that you would have to "have a pretty wide definition of working class," saying that they loved "a comfortable life." Even if we accepted that she grew up working class, her mother did not have a college degree for only two years after divorcing her husband, graduating with a degree in psychology from Florida Atlantic University. Furthermore, lets say we accept the contention of Salazar's mother that Salazar is from the "you work your ass off class," and that she "she really wants to help others. The people of Brooklyn...if she gets elected, she will be their advocate," it seems evident that she was more likely middle-class than working-class, especially since her mother was working-class but her father was solidly middle-class. Additionally, she had a trust of \$600,000, which some like Zionist Yair Rosenberg, have taken to indicate that Salazar was a trust-fund kid, because, when her father died in 2009 he left a "house and considerable retirement savings." While she and her campaign have said that a relative manages the account and she has received nothing from the trust fund, it is hard to believe she has not been given at least something.

Apart from her claimed immigrant and working-class identity was her claim of Jewish ancestry. She has said that "my father was of Sephardic Jewish heritage," that she had "some Jewish family," and "a Sephardi surname." But, even her mother, who is supportive of her daughter's campaign, has said that neither her family nor her divorced husband's family were Jewish, claimed to say that the latter family had a "Sephardic background" which Salazar had been curious about, adding that this is "where her interest stems from." This interest reportedly began in 2009, when she was age 18, after graduating high school, when her father died of prostate cancer, with a funeral in a Catholic church in Ormond Beach, Florida, when she claims she began "exploring her Jewishness," telling the *New York Times* that she was spurred by his death to "search for meaning in my father's death," saying that "a lot of mysteries I wanted to solve," focusing on her family history (on her father's side), with claimed roots in the Sephardic (also Sephardi or Sephardim) "community expelled from medieval Spain" which

converted to Catholicism during the Spanish Inquisition, with most of them settling in the Ottoman Empire and others immigrating to parts of Europe and the Americas. But her claim to Jewish ancestry is questionable. A Colombian genealogist, Maria Emilia Naranjo Ramos, looked into the family history of Salazar, determining that her ancestors included a central banker, businesspeople, and civic leaders, while being recognized throughout the "generations by their commitment and generosity towards their community," serving as Catholic elites, which Salazar called "pretty cool." Furthermore, they have been "Catholic in their tradition and for many generations," with no evidence, as of yet that they are "possibly Sephardic." As the *Spectator*, which is very critical of Salazar, has said, Salazar's family "may well have descended from *conversos*, Sephardic Jews who retained some connection or awareness of their origins after forced conversion." Salazar threw this all away by stating that "this genealogy does not make me Jewish," putting into question if she was exploring "her Jewishness" or her "Jewish roots" after her father's death or not. As such, her claim to Jewish ancestry is still a tall tale, as the only person she could have told her about it was her father, with her mother saying that: "she's the one who sought out her family history...I believe that was a discussion that Julia had with him about the family history in Iberia. But he would always say that he was born and raised in Colombia but his family was Iberian."

This connects to another part of her identity: her claim to the Jewish faith. She has <u>told her</u>

<u>fellow activists</u> of Jews for Racial and Economic Justice (JFREJ) that she was "a Jew of color…a

Colombian American and…Jewish." With this, her Jewish beliefs would fall within the category of the

This is where *New York* magazine gets into weird territory: they declare that because Salazar's ancestors were elites in Colombia who had a role in public life, that this "legacy of financial well-being and achievement carried over from Colombia to Salazar's <u>early family life in Florida</u>, where she was born" because...Salazar's brother said so! This is a pretty weak, since it is no guarantee that just because your ancestors are wealthy you will also be wealthy.

<sup>4</sup> The quote "lower my expectations" which is used in this article comes from this video. I did my best to transcribe the video: "I hope I am not alienating anyone but I am also not into vartora [?]. I'm not equipped to do that either. But, I am a Jew of color. Many people aren't familiar with this term but I'm a Colombian-American and I'm also Jewish. And Jews for Racial and Economic Justice and the movement that many of us are in has empowered me to say that proudly. Growing up I was told to lower my expectations by society. I immigrated to this country with my family when I was very little. In Colombia, my mom raised me as a single mother, she didn't have a college degree. We really struggled. I started working in a grocery store when I was 14, I worked in the service industry from high school, and as a domestic

JFREJ's description of "mixed-race Jews whose ancestors include many kinds of non-European peoples, and both white people and People of Color who have chosen (or whose parents, grandparents or ancestors have chosen) to become Jews through conversion," with her declaring to be within the latter group. Some have focused her tattoos with disdain, declaring she is "not" Jewish, stating that Leviticus 19:28 (with varied translations) says you cannot make gashes in your flesh "for the dead" or any "marks" on yourself. However, as Rabbi Evan Moffic wrote in *HuffPost*, in Judaism "there is no blanket prohibition on tattoos" and as a Jewish Reform website plainly states, "after the Holocaust, many in the Jewish community became even more opposed to tattoos...[but] in recent years, tattoos have become more common in the Jewish community...the Jewish community might still be divided over tattoos...we don't exclude people in our communities from that care simply because of markings on the skin." As such, having a tattoo does not automatically exclude you from being Jewish. Whether she read a lot, reading the bible and apologetics and Torah, she had admitted that she didn't have a "bat mitzvah, or a confirmation, or any of that sort of thing." It would not be until 2012 or 2013 when she claimed to undergo a conversion to Judaism, with some saying she was a conservative Christian before then even though she talked about events at Hillel. Not only is the length of her Reform beit dein conversion in question, with some courses saying it was two months and other saying five months, but she has no record of it and the person named Daniel Crane was not "an ordained rabbi, and therefore could not yet lead conversions while Salazar was a student," putting her conversion into question. In the end, ass one recent article in *New York* magazine noted, she chose to "identify and live as a Jew in 21st-century New York City amid a rising population of adults with fractional Jewish ancestry," finding a Jewish community in college, which is true despite the fact it is an open question, despite what her classmates <u>said in the *Forward*</u>, whether she converted at all! Benjamin "Ben" Norton, Salazar's friend, may be right that "whether or not she converted late in life is irrelevant" and that "the people

worker in college. And it was that experience that while early on, you know [cuts off]."

challenging her blood purity and tracking her family history are bigots." Even so, this does not include well-intentioned criticism, which this article falls into or the genealogist who looked at her family history, at minimum.

Fast forward to August 2009. She began attending Columbia University, after she had reportedly worked in the service industry for years, specifically at a grocery store, as a housecleaner, and as a <u>barista</u>, drinking "very hot <u>coffee</u>" on her short breaks." She was also a registered Republican with conservative views, graduating Jupiter High School at the top of her class, but did not vote in the presidential election in 2008. Moving to New York City, Salazar would attend an Ivy League school, "an institution with an immense amount of wealth" as she would later describe it, where she would study history, psychology, and have a concentration in Jewish studies. Reportedly while in college she would work as "a <u>nanny</u> and house cleaner," supporting herself through school, working for "30 hours a week...on the Upper West Side, using the income to pay rent and other expenses not covered by her scholarship" and financial aid, giving her "class consciousness." Her "political evolution" would be slow. During her campaign she would claim she was a "community organizer" in New York City for "nearly a decade" or have a "decade of experience as a local community organizer has brought her from the streets of Bushwick to the halls of Albany." This raises a red flag of concern since it would mean, at most, she would have to be politically active since 2007 or 2008. If it was not exactly a decade, this would still be a problem as her right-wing phase of her life lasted until 2015 at least, evidenced by the fact that in 2010 she registered with the Independence Party of New York, supposedly mistakenly thinking she was an unaffiliated voter even though it is possible this wasn't a mistake considering that the party is center-right and "populist, and began going to Hillel the same year, even

The full quote from her page is: "as a member of the Bushwick community, she has been a tireless advocate for her neighbors and fellow tenants. Julia's decade of experience as a local community organizer has brought her from the streets of Bushwick to the halls of Albany. She has protested, picketed, lobbied, and organized to achieve a more just New York. From working with her neighbors to fight for their legal right to safe housing to demanding criminal justice reforms at the city and state levels, Julia has been at the forefront of campaigns for social justice in New York."

going to Jewish services with friends. The following year, when she <u>began to reside</u> continuously in New York, she would be arrested on "<u>allegations</u> of fraudulently <u>attempting to access</u> the bank account of Kai Hernandez, a family friend and then-wife of baseball star Keith Hernandez," a bizarre case which would <u>drag on</u> for four years, ending in 2017 with a settlement in Salazar's favor, setting \$20,000 since the person she was suing <u>was dying of cancer</u>. More importantly, in 2011, she would begin to dip her toe into politics by starting a "Columbia United for Israel" chapter at Columbia that year which never became an official group because she wasn't deeply invested in it and Columbia didn't allow it, never moving beyond a relatively inactive Facebook group.

The following year, in 2012, she would become the President of a group fighting against reproductive rights on Columbia's campus: Columbia Right to Life (CRL), possibly beginning to be sent emails from them in 2011. Specifically the group would fight to ensure that "a fund for abortion services would not be paid for by Columbia students," and she would lead the Support for Pregnant Students Initiative, serving as the "public voice" of the group on campus, and be angry at the *Columbia* Spectator for "manipulating" the words of CRL members, showing their "bias." She would even, later that year, write in the Spectator an op-ed where she declared that "it is unacceptable for the University to provide support for students have abortions while simultaneously failing to provide resources to accommodate those who keep their baby...With Columbia's influence, we have the opportunity to help pregnant women, and thus live up to the progressive values of social justice, autonomy, and women's health that we proclaim." There was understandable backlash, as her fellow students told her about abortion, changing her views after "honest conversation[s]," regretting the views she took then. Even so, despite her claim that the group didn't have a significant impact, the fact is that she was positively d described by *Public Discourse* the following year, when she ended her involvement, and the group seemed to somewhat achieve its goals.

In 2012, she was part of a Christian Zionist organization: Christians United for Israel (CUFI). She appeared on Glenn Beck's show, *The Blaze*, and was in San Antonio for a summit of CUFI. Before she spoke, she smiled in disbelief at reported "anti-Israel" lyrics by a Palestinian rap group (singing in Arabic) and shook her head, shaking her head again in a similar manner when the other guest talked about Palestinian "hate speech" being an issue for Christians. About 4 minutes into the video, the segment in which Beck interviews her begins. She goes on a pro-Zionist screed, stating that "anti-Israeli" professors were in the "Middle Eastern, Asian Languages and Culture...using the classroom as their podium to spread lies about the state of Israel, to de-legitimize the state of Israel, and to spread propaganda to Columbia students" and declaring that CUFI's goals were to "educate the community about the truth about Israel...Palestinian Authority....Hamas...[and] Ahmadinejad." She would later add on a DSA podcast that the "Glenn Beck appearance was concurrent with me first learning about what CUFI was," and saying the interview was in January 2012 when "CUFI sponsored me to go to San Antonio for their conference," with her being told an hour beforehand and she spoke on the show. In August of the same year, she met with IDF soldiers "patrolling the Israel-Lebanon border," in a trip organized by CUFI, which reportedly did not establish a chapter at Columbia. On this trip her views of the murderous Zionist apartheid state, often called "Israel," were reportedly hanged, when she visited the Wesr Bank and met with Palestinians there, even reportedly keeping in touch with a Palestinian in the U\$ who had "grown up in West Bank and lived through the second intifada." It is also worth noting that sometime during her time on campus she was part of a humanitarian imperialist organization on campus: Amnesty International, claiming it did not mesh with "very hawkish views on foreign policy, social issues or on poverty," which has some truth to it, but ignores the long-standing connection of Amnesty with the murderous empire.

The year afterwords, in January that <u>she reportedly</u> engaged in a rent strike. As she tells the story, after "shivering through a winter without heat," she <u>organized</u> a rent strike among fellow tenants

at her apartment building (reportedly in Harlem), run by a "notoriously abusive landlord" who neglected tenants, calling for the landlord to "make repairs and turn on the heat in the winter" and they won some concessions in <u>a housing court</u>, as a result. As such, the management company <u>raised rents</u> through the roof, leading Salazar to be displaced and say she began to think about systemically changing such problem. There have been some questions of whether the strike happened again which is complicated because the address where she lived may not be <u>publicly available</u>. We do know that the same year, she would make a brief visit to Florida, and from then to 2017, considerable "documentary evidence, including tax and payroll records...reflect earnings in New York and are directed to her at residential addresses in New York, and including her residential leases, bank and health insurance records, rent and mover's bills, and travel records." Her testimony in the Dilan v. Salazar case was corroborated by a roommate who had lived with her "in various apartments in New York since September 2013 and that Salazar was never away for more than one or two weeks." This is complicated by the fact that she told her friend Katie Helper in *Teen Voque* that organized the strike in early 2014 even though *Gothamist* clearly indicates it happened in 2013. With is an open question whether the strike happened at all!

In the spring and fall semesters of 2013, her Zionist views would be reinforced. In the spring semester, she would help <u>found</u> the <u>J Street U chapter at Columbia</u>, <u>clearly supporting</u> the two-state solution and <u>organizing</u> meetings for the group, including opposing the idea of "Apartheid Week" regarding the Zionist state. In that same semester, she would also be fine with <u>inviting</u> liberal Zionists to campus, seemed to <u>favor</u> those from Peace Now and <u>Haaretz</u> and <u>asked in one message</u>: "is anyone else a little disturbed by the similarity between Palestinians referring to this as "Nakba" and it's

WZO, which was <u>founded in 1897</u>, wants to "serve as the umbrella organization for the Zionist movement" and be a "symbol and a founding institution of Zionist political thought and action." It also <u>pumps millions</u> into new illegal settlements in the West Bank. In an article <u>she co-wrote</u> with Max Blumenthal, she would describe J Street, talking about "liberal pro-Israel students" in the organization, adding that "J Street U [is] the campus arm of the liberal pro-Israel organization, J Street." J Street has <u>directly attacked</u> BDS and it also "<u>rejects the return</u> of Palestinians to lands and homes."

mockery (intentional or not) of the Jewish use of the word "Shoah" (both literally meaning "catastrophe")? I find it to be a little too close for comfort." By the fall semester, she would be the copresident of the chapter and a WZO (World Zionist Organization) campus fellow, who was, politically, a liberal Zionist who seemed to want a coordinated response to address SJP (Students for Justice in Palestine) actions. Near the end of that semester, she would meet David Keyes, now Netanyahu's spokesperson to foreign media, then a "human rights activist," a second time at a coffee shop, and be, by her recollection, physically assaulted by him in his apartment. Years later, in 2016, she would have a Facebook post about the incident, deleting it after the Times of Israel picked up on the story. Regardless of Salazar's other inconsistencies and distortions, it is wrong to think that she is lying on this topic either by engaging in victim-blaming or other efforts as a prominent Wall Street Journal reporter, Shayndi Rice, shared a similar story, and ten more women have come forward with similar stories.

The following year, in February 2014, she would write her second-op-ed in the *Columbia Spectator*, which described her as "a Columbia College senior majoring in Middle Eastern history and Jewish studies. She is a co-chair of J Street CU and a member of Columbia/Barnard Hillel." This goes against what she told a DSA podcast: that she led the chapter "until the very beginning of 2014, January of 2014, which was when I disengaged for the group essentially over the question of BDS and support for BDS," raising the question of when she left the group. In her op-ed, she would lend her support to the corrupted two-state solution, saying that "there is a growing constituency of us who refuse to tolerate the injustice of the status quo...Advocating for pragmatic solutions to these issues is imperative because they are an essential part of any two-state agreement. Through practicality, we can turn our frustration into strategic activism. We can lead our community to promote a just solution to the conflict, before peace escapes us." This shows that she hadn't abandoned her Zionism by then, and as the *Gotham Gazette* put it, she would join "the Israel/Palestine activism scene as a member of J Street and Jewish Voice for Peace." Around the same time she also became involved with IfNotNow, a group

that "wants American-Jewish institutions to become more aware of Israel's occupation of territory Palestinians consider their homeland, while protesting the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict," which she would criticize herself the following year. She also would write her first article for *Mondoweiss*, about being denied entry into the Zionist state and saying she "was raised with the delusion that Israel was a safe haven for me, perhaps even the only safe place for Jews" which *Vox* says implies she was raised as a Jewish child although she was not. By April 2014, she would be part of a debate on Columbia University about the "academic boycott of Israel."

In May 2014, Salazar would leave Columbia University but would not graduate. This has led to some controversy because she said under oath in the *Dilan v. Salazar* that she graduated and her website seemed to imply this was the case, even seeming to imply graduation when she donated to the university in later years and on her academia.edu account, which shows her interests, with the same being the case for her <u>Scribd</u> or Quora accounts. As such, <u>Citizens Union</u> and the <u>Brooklyn Young</u> Democrats withdrew their endorsement of her as a candidate. As she tells the story, after college she went *Jacobin* reading groups, with the first meeting about the Global South, and began reading Karl Marx, even though she has also said that she began reading Marx while in college. So, this is disputed. The same goes for her identification as a socialist, telling a DSA podcast at one point that she was a socialist in 2013 and at another time that <u>in 2014</u> she first identified as socialist. The <u>following year</u>, she would write another <u>article</u> for *Mondoweiss*, noting her presence in If Not Now, a group of U\$ Jews organizing in Brooklyn and "seeking to protest Jewish communal organizations' complicity in the violence" in Gaza by Zionist armies and opposing the "brutal" occupation of Palestine," but also had strong criticism of the organization and of J Street, <u>later</u> partying with those like Max Blumenthal, Anya Parampil, Rania Khalek, Michael "Mike" Prysner, Nathaniel Wallace, and Jan Ritch-Frel and Michael Prysner, where they <u>all watched</u> the Democratic presidential debate. The latter basically rather

shows her left-leaning views at the time, with the same <u>applying</u> to her <u>friendship</u> <u>with</u> Ben Norton, who is not as radical as one might think at the time.

By 2016, the year she would attend the Big Eddy Film Festival in Narrowsburg, New York, she would be in Nashua, New Hampshire "with her union, the United Automobile Workers," which she is said to have organized for "during a contract dispute at Barnard College, on Election Day." She said that it was also a get-out-the-vote campaign, adding that "collectively, we all felt certain that Hillary Clinton would win. When the results came in, it was really, really devastating...My heart hasn't stopped racing since that moment, basically." She later told the *Gazette* that "the Trump Administration has motivated more people, myself included to shift our focus to trying to effect change as much as we possibly can at the city and state level, where we have more control, where we can effect change in a practical sense and also do harm reduction in response to federal policies across the board." The same year she began working with the JFREJ "on anti-police brutality initiatives," after seeing them at Black Lives Matter protests. She would also, write her third article for Mondoweiss, talking about a Black Lives Matter platform which called the Zionist state an apartheid entity oppressing Palestinians and the response by Jewish organizations to it, and would become "rank-and-file DSA member" in the summer.

The year after that, 2017, she would serve the <u>senior editor</u> of a blog called <u>Unruly</u>: A Jews of Color, Sephardi & Mizrahi Caucus Blog and would be a full-time staff organizer in the JFREJ, while being a member of the <u>National Writers Union</u> (UAW Local 1981) and an active DSA member. In January of the same year year, she attended the Women's March in NYC, leading a "contingent of progressive Jewish marchers," seeing the march as "as an opportunity to build our community's unified resistance against Trump's oppressive policy proposals" and <u>saying</u> that despite clumsy messaging, it was "a good-faith effort to do something here that will mark an historic defiance against the hate and

For the discussion of whether JFREJ is a Zionist organization, please email me. She <u>may have also worked</u> with CodePink as there is a page for a "Julia Carmel."

discrimination that Trump represents." She would not cancel, as <u>revealed</u> in the *Dilan v. Salazar* case, her Florida voting registration until July 2017, and then become a registered voter in New York.

Then, in 2018, this year, she would write an article in *Jacobin* about the NYPD's police brutality, then started supporting and volunteering for Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's campaign. She would be convinced by some of her friends in the NYC-DSA, like Michael "Mike" Kinnucan (her deputy campaign manager), Nick Rizzo, and Bianca Cunningham, and maybe that assistant editor of *Jacobin*, Alex Press, who moved into the area in 2017. She would finalize her decision by March and begin running in April, with a kickoff the following month. Of these individuals, Rizzo was a major factor, described in April 2016 by *Bedford & Bowery* as a politician whom "shares some concerns with the Brooklyn hipster constituency...and like many liberal-minded people of our generation, he also cares a great deal about issues of equality...and is frustrated with...the establishment." He would call himself a "Bernie supporter" who barely saw "any possibility of Trump winning," adding, worryingly, that: "...it's actually better for all of us to have a functioning two-party system...Competition is essential for a democracy" and that he would vote for Hillary Clinton if she was the Democratic nominee and saying he was in favor of tipping. Since then, his views on Twitter, such as thinking that "Millennials" and Generation Z will bring "the change", being dedicated Democrat and nationalist who seems to <u>like</u> assessments by Trotsky, shows that what he said in 2016 still matters.

Whether we believe Salazar or not, support or oppose her, her personal narrative, which was muddled by her inconsistencies and distortions, matters as she is a figure in the public eye, not only putting doubt on her ability to carry through for Brooklynites (as a "new hope") in Albany but in the DSA itself. It is hard see if she will be "an advocate for the underdog," as her mother describes her. In the end, while thinking people should be critical of progressive icons like Salazar, any tendency to ally with reactionaries or promote their narratives to engage in such criticism undercuts any efforts to create a better world.